

## Akkinip Paravaikal

#### AUGUST ISSUE 2020 Puradsi Media. Phoenix - the Next



#### **Flowers of the Nation**

On the 14th of August, 2006, the school girls were participating in a first-aid training workshop when four K-fir jet bombers of the SL Air Force dropped 16 bombs on the premises of the Sencholai children's home in Vallipuram, Mullaitivu. 14 years later, a tuition centre named its classroom with these girls names in commemoration. When the cries of innocent children reverberate across decades, is commemoration the final word in resistance?

Proceed to page 03 for more.

#### Hopscotch of Foreign Diplomacy

Since assuming office as the President of Sri Lanka, Gotabaya has been walking along a tightrope to create a mirage of "neutrality" in regards with Sri Lanka's foreign policy. Yet his tactical approach dates back to his time as Sri Lanka's defence secretary. Echoes from the past remain as integrated shadows within Gotabaya's current reign to extend his then policies into his current governance in a subdued manner. What will unravel when the curtain drops on Gotabaya's tentative tango?

Proceed to page 13 for more.

#### **Missing Persons of Tamil Eelam**

Censorship and surveillance against the archival of the legacy of the Tamil struggle has been a constant feature affecting it for decades. Yet the misdirection of many key elements of our struggle which have assumed a victim-centric perspective over the past decade further deprives the struggle and its constituent issues of a rightful solution. One such issue remains enforced Tamil disappearances. Phoenix-the Next Generation shake their fists at censorship and the misdirection of the Tamil struggle.

Proceed to page 17 for more insight into their stance.



"From the very moment we handed over our weapons we hand over the responsibility of protecting our people to India."

National Leader of Tamil Eelam Suthumalai Declaration, August 1987

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## Sencholai: Flowers of the Nation

### KAYALVIZHI

We must come to remember the Sencholai massacre and that is why it is necessary, through memory, to transmit the history of this tragedy in order to prevent it and inform the new generations who must become aware of it. We must know our history by commemorating the events that marked our people before taking a step forward but we cannot just remember it, we have to gain justice, we have to act so that our agal is attained. This massacre showed to this world that the GoSL considered the Tamil people not as citizens but labelled everyone as terrorists. Still today they labelled these girls as children soldiers while it is an orphanage.

Sencholai was an all-girls children's home established by the LTTE for children who had lost their parents to war at a location in Kilinochchi. It was founded in 1991 in Sandilipay, in the Jaffna district.

The national leader of Tamil Eelam sent a message during this occasion:



Opening of the new Sencholai campus - a children's home established to care for children who lost their parents in the war, at a location in Kilinochchi in a ceremony held on 15 January 2006.

"Under the environment of a historic war of liberation we are planting these young seeds at Chencholai campus. It is my desire that these young seeds must take deep roots and grow up one day as an intellectual reservoir of Thamil Eelam I convey my greetings for this revolutionary venture to thrive well and prosper."

Since the exodus of Tamils from Jaffna Peninsula in 1995, children of Sencholai have been displaced and relocated at least four times, Director of Sencholai, Janani (nom de guerre Sudarmahal) said. It was later located in Vallipunam near Viswamadu and along Iranaimadu Road in Kilinochchi.

Thalaivar with children at Sencholai

Furthermore, Sencholai functioned as a home for over 250 girls, aged 3 and above. These buildings contained special blocks for study, dining halls and kitchen facilities. There was also an administration block, a skilldevelopment centre, a cultural hall, a health centre and a library. Janani akka was in charge of Sencholai since it functioned. These children are not considered as orphans by the LTTE cadres, they are a family. They helped these futures of Tamil Eelam in many ways: prepared them for examinations run by the

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Department of Examinations from Colombo, to pass the OL exams, nursing, handicrafts, music, karate and many more.

#### Massacred innocent girls

On August 14th 2006, the Sri Lankan aovernment launched an aerial attack on the children's home, flying four K-fir jets overhead and showering the area with 16 bombs. 53 schoolgirls and 3 teachers were killed in this inhumane attack, and more than 155 were injured. Ambulances were rushing the wounded,



53 Sencholai Students Memorial

many of whom were bleeding badly, to hospitals.

The Sri Lankan government initially denied the bombing, and later claimed they had bombed a LTTE training camp. This claim was rejected by international ceasefire monitors - the SLMM (Sri Lanka Monitoring Mission) and UNICEF. The executive director of UNICEF at the time, Ann M. Veneman, mentioned that "these children are innocent victims of violence", and the head of the SLMM, Ulf Henricsson (former Swedish officer.), said "we couldn't find any sign of military installation or weapons...This was not a military installation" after visiting the scene of the carnage with UN's child agency, UNICEF, and international truce monitors.



Kantharuban Arivucholai, during a minute of silence for victims and martyrs of Tamil Eelam, in 1994.

On November 13, 1993, the national leader of Tamil Eelam inaugurated Kantharuban Arivucholai in memory of the sacrifice of the maaveerar. Kantharuban's Home is exclusively for male children who have lost both parents in the war. Similar to Sencholai, the Sri Lankan Air Force bombed the institution on October 17, 2006, but missed its target. However, the bombs landed on the playground and injured two people.

#### Vallipunam survivor

One of the surviving girls, Mary Arulappan Juliet, said that they were on a residential course, learning the necessary skills to administer first aid to people in an emergency - especially to the sick and injured IDPs, and acquiring the skills necessary to provide emergency care to suffering persons before being transported for emergency medical treatment at hospitals.

"We were into the second day of our workshop on First aid and Disaster management skills. More than 400 schoolgirls were in attendance at the 10-day workshop," Juliet said. "In the aerial strikes, many died on the spot, and many were wounded, most had multiple injuries, some lost their limbs, some had severe burns. All the girls were pleading for help, pleading to be taken to a hospital," Juliet said. She blamed the Government of Sri Lanka (GOSL) for the attack and said that it was a "cowardly act."

#### Mullaitivu in memory of massacred flowers

A tuition centre in Mullaitivu conducted an event on August 16th, 2020 to commemorate the massacre by opening up the name boards of each class with the presence of parents and relatives of the victims. Each board contained the names of the victims.

#### Is commemorating enough?

Innocent Tamil children were targeted. Do you know why?

The government knew that the next generation, which means our generation, would be born to take what is ours! That's why they targeted our brothers and sisters. We are their next target.

They say the war is over. But, have we gained justice? Have we gained Tamil Eelam? Or have our people been allowed peace? Instead of putting flowers and candles, we must make sure that we are not asked these questions.



A private tuition centre in Mullaitivu.

The government is eradicating every evidence of our existence. For example,

the Presidential Task Force for Archaeological Heritage Management in the Eastern Province which aims to identify and implement an appropriate program for the management of archaeological heritage by conserving and restoring such identified sites and antiquities. This is in fact a form of structural genocide. This project allows them to erase our traces and histories in order to replace them with their history.



Huge demonstrations in the UK during March/April 2009.

The same government that existed then exists today, governing under the same constitution, the same rules and the same guidelines.

Those who carried out the attack are still in power today. What we want for our homeland and our people must be decided by us, and what comes of our efforts will be the fruits of our labour, but as of right now there still remains a fact - the Sri Lankan state continues to be run by murderers of innocent children.

## **International News**

02.08.2020: **Pakistan** – The High Commissioner of Pakistan to SL was reported to have been accused of having a "dubious role" during the war

and India's relations were uneasy due to a lack of mutual trust, reports Colombo Gazette.

08.08.2020: **Diaspora –** GTF congratulates Mahindha on his victory and requested Tamil political parties to cooperate in SL's parliament, reports Colombo Gazette.

08.08.2020: **HRW** - HRW had released a statement following the Rajapaksas' election victory expressing concern regarding the Gotabaya government's censorship and harassment of human rights workers, journalists etc – they further stated that such suppression had increased during SL's militarised response to the COVID-19 pandemic.

14.08.2020: India – According to Colombo Gazette, the Economic Times had reported that India would be closely monitoring any of Mahindha's actions which may undermine their security and economic interests.

14.08.2020: **UK** – According to Colombo Gazette a UK police probe had been launched into the roles of Keenie Meenie Services in SL. However, in reference to an interview by Jude Lal Fernando, TamilNet reported that such engagements would be conducted to distance UK from its accountability in being complicit in Tamil genocide due to their deep-rooted colonial relations with SL.

20.08.2020: **Australia** – The Lowy Institute reports that Australia would engage with SL to pursue air connectivity relations to increase strategic presence within the region. 21.08.2020: India – During a meeting between a TNA delegation and the Indian High Commissioner at India House, the Commissioner was reported to have assured the TNA of India's continued commitment to the establishment of a political solution in SL through the full implementation of the 13<sup>th</sup> Amendment, reports Colombo Gazette.

25.08.2020: **UN** – According to Vindobona, SL's Permanent Representative to the United Nations Office at Vienna, Jayesinghe had presented their credentials to its Director-General.

25.08.2020: **Australia** – The Australian Government had expressed a commitment to assist migrant returnees in Anuradhapura with the International Organization for Migration (IOM), reports Colombo Gazette.

28.08.2020: **Norway -** According to Daily Mirror, former Norwegian peace negotiator Erik Solheim had accused the national leader of Tamil Eelam in a series of tweets for failing to compromise and accept an offer to evacuate Tamil civilians.



UK Police probe launch investigation into Keenie Meenie's activities in Sri Lanka. Source: Colombo Gazette

## **Bilateral Discussions**

Bilateral discussions were held between Sri Lanka and the following countries:

- 01.08.2020: Courtesy calls made by an Indian Navy representative with SL officials between 27.07.2020 - 29.07.2020.
- 01.08.2020: Australian High Commissioner and SL Naval Commander.
- 07.08.2020: US delegation and Shavendra Silva at SL Army HQ.
- 09.08.2020: High Commissioner of India to SL and Mahindha at the Temple Trees.
- 15.08.2020: Bangladesh & Maldivian Defence Advisers and SL Naval Commander at SL Navy HQ.
- 17.08.2020: US Ambassador and Mahinda.
- 24.08.2020: Chinese embassy's Defence Attaché and SL Naval Commander.
- 24.08.2020: Chinese Embassy and SL's State Minister of Money and Capital Market and State Enterprise Reforms.
- 26.08.2020: Ambassador of Afghanistan and Mahindha at the Temple Trees.
- 26.08.2020: British High Commissioner and Mahindha at the Temple Trees.
- 27.08.2020: High Commissioner of India to SL and SL Speaker.
- 27.08.2020: Ambassador of Norway to SL and Mahindha at the Temple Trees.
- 28.08.2020: Canadian High Commissioner and Mahindha.
- 30.08.2020: US Defence Secretary and Gotabaya.

## **Military News**

02.08.2020: **China -** According to Daily Mirror, Kamal Gunaratne had mentioned that over 75 army officers had graduated from the NDU in China since 2001. He also expressed his gratitude to China and the Chinese National Defence University for providing professional expertise in training the battle commanders in planning counter strategies against the LTTE.

02.08.2020: **India -** According to Daily Mirror, a talk was held between Indian and Sri Lankan defence officials. More than 50% of all foreign military training slots in India are reported to be allocated to Sri Lankan defence personnel. Key elements of cooperation were reported to be:

- Regular high-level exchanges and visits
- Joint training and exercises
- Ship visits
- Sports interactions

#### 11.08.2020: Military Intelligence -

According to SL's Army Media Unit, their Military Intelligence Corps (MIC) would be assisting the Police to locate and arrest suspects – especially those involved in drug crimes, reports Colombo Gazette.

11.08.2020: **Defence** - According to defence.lk, 35 state institutions had been brought under the supervision of SL's Defence Ministry and Internal Security, Home Affairs and Disaster Management State Ministry due to the new Gazette Notification issued this week.

14.08.2020: **Australia** – According to SL's Navy media unit, Australia's Department of Defence donated LKR 23.4 million worth PPE to SL's Navy during a simple ceremony held at the official residence of the Australian High Commissioner in Colombo, reports Colombo Gazette.

21.08.2020: **Pakistan** – During a meeting between Pakistan's outgoing Colombobased High Commission's Defence Advisor, Col. Ali and Shavendra Silva at SL's Army HQ, SL recalled and was grateful for Pakistan's assistance in providing training opportunities to them which assisted them during "humanitarian operations in the Wanni" during May 2009.

26.08.2020: **Army** - Sri Lanka Army Long Range Reconnaissance Patrol (LRRP) / Mahasohon Brigade, Deep Penetration Unit (DPU), SF, has been ranked as the 3rd most dangerous Special Force in the world, over US Green Berets and British SAS, reports militaryranks.info. Behind US Navy Seals in first place, and Russian special Operations Forces in second place. This elite Sri Lankan army unit has been in operation since 1986 to present. 27.08.2020: **Australia** – David Holly and Australian Federal Police Detective Superintendent Wilson had presented SL police with Chemical Detection Devices to support SL to face global threats of terrorism, organised crime and narcotics



Australia presents SL with Chemical Detection Devices. Source: Colombo Gazette

trafficking reports Colombo Gazette.

31.08.2020: **US** – US Defence Secretary, Dr. Mark. T. Esper had called Gotabaya on 30.08.2020 to discuss their shared commitment to maintaining a free and open Indo-Pacific which secures the sovereignty of all nations and further prioritised common bilateral defence priorities including opportunities to develop:

- Military professionalization
- Counter terrorism
- Maritime security cooperation

... reports Colombo Gazette.

## **Domestic News**

#### Tamil Eelam

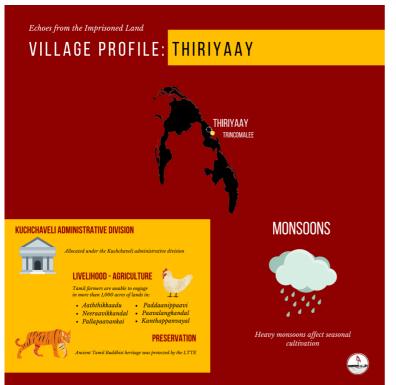
05.08.2020: **SL Parliamentary Elections** – According to TamilNet, voter turnouts across the occupied Tamil homeland were higher than usual.

10.08.2020: **Development** – India's Frontline magazine reported that Mahindha had mentioned that one of his most important priorities was to develop the Tamil Northern Province and that such development would be resumed and expedited during his rule, reports Colombo Gazette.

## **Echoes from the Imprisoned Land**

#### Thiriyaay

Editor's note: Information sourced from TamilNet.



The Ancient Tamil Buddhist legacy of this site falls under Mahayana Buddhism and is one of the few remaining across the island. Following the peak of the genocidal onslaught in 2009, Sinhala colonists have destroyed Saiva Temples and distorted the Tamil Buddhist heritage as being their own.

Tamil farmers who cultivate their private lands are also threatened and harassed by occupational authorities. Seasonal premature farming to avoid the brunt of the monsoon season has been prevented by SL government authorities and the lands of Tamils continue to be seized to further disrupt the continuity of the Tamils' territorial integrity.

#### Sri Lanka

05.08.2020: **Election** – SLPP gain landslide victory in general elections and gain a majority government.

07.08.2020: **Kurunegala Historic Site:** The Kurunegala Magistrate's Court had issued a warrant for the arrest of 5 individuals including the Kurunegala Mayor regarding the destruction of the historic site, Buwanekabahu Pavilion building, reports Colombo Gazette. It was reported that locals had staged a protest on 10.08.2020 against the arrest of the individuals due to the "hypocrisy" of SL's archaeology unit. Colombo Gazette further reported in 25.08.2020 that an interim injunction had been ordered against the arrest of the Mayor.

10.08.2020: **Parliament** - According to PMD News, Gamini Sedara Senarath, an experienced senior officer in the Sri Lanka Administration Service had been reappointed as the Secretary to the Prime Minister.

10.08.2020: White van – According to Colombo Gazette, Rajitha Senaratne had been summoned to appear before court by 28.08.2020 by Colombo's High Court regarding his media briefing about white van abductions.

11.08.2020: **Parliament** - According to PMD News, Mahinda Rajapaksa assumed duties at the Temple Trees in Colombo this morning for the fourth time.

11.08.2020: **Parliament** - According to Daily Mirror, 19 names of the members of SL Parliament had been published in a Special Gazette notification on 10.08.2020.

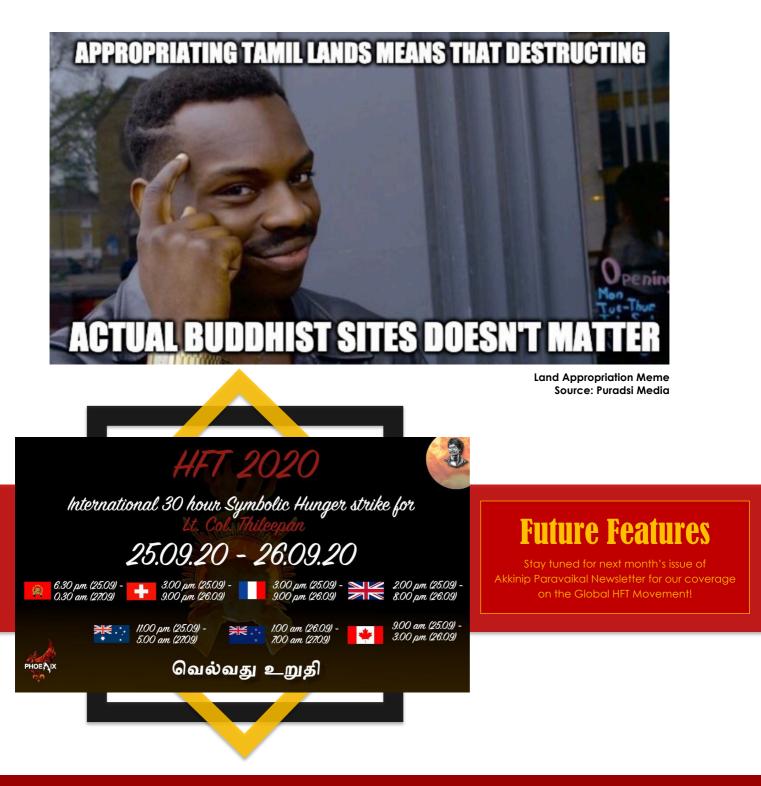
12.08.2020: **Parliament** - According to Daily Mirror, Chamal Rajapaksa was sworn in as the State Minister of Defence.

14.08.2020: **Parliament** - The Elections Commission will proceed to issue a gazette notification of national list MPs without the UNP and Our Peoples' Power Party (OPPP) nominees, a spokesman for the Commission said. The two parties were reported to have failed to submit the names of their nominees. The UNP was continuing its discussions on its nominees while the OPPP was now expected to take the matter to courts due to an internal dispute, Sunday Times reports.

18.08.2020: **Parliament** - The Batticaloa High Court today granted permission for Pillaiyaan to attend the inaugural session of new parliament on August 20, Daily Mirror reports.

20.08.2020: **Parliament** – The first parliamentary session of the newly elected SL parliament was held. Gajendrakumar Ponnambalam and C.V. Wigneswaran had made statements during the session addressing the distinct rights of Tamils causing reactions from Sinhalese MPs. Genocidaire, Sarath Fonseka warned Ponnambalam to be wary of statements he made in Parliament and Sinhalese MPs had demanded for parts of Wigeswaran's speech to be removed from SL's Hansard, reports Colombo Gazette. Further reports indicate that prisoner – come – politician, Pillaiyaan had mentioned in parliament that he had embraced democracy.

23.08.2020: **Arrest** - According to Daily Mirror, a Chinese national was arrested for operating a drone camera in the high-security zone at Kollupitiya in Colombo on 22.08.2020. Police were reported to have mentioned that the suspect was operating a drone camera and was recording video footage of the Temple Trees.



# Gotabaya's hopscotch of foreign diplomacy: Duplicity or Strategy?

### SENCHUDAR GEMINI



LTTE vessel attacked in an operation code-named "Sagara Balaya" with the assistance of US intelligence.

After assuming office as the President of Sri Lanka, Gotabaya has been engaged in a tentative tango with which he attempts to convince the international community and the Eelam Tamils that he is maintaining a neutral foreign policy for Sri Lanka. However, the guise of his delicate hopscotch on the tightrope of geopolitical balancing has continued to raise many questions as to his true intent on developing strategy or duplicity within the global arena. Tied in multilayered relations with the US, India and China remains to be a fragile game which Gotabaya has chosen to shift his pieces in where one partial move could

potentially anger multiple global powers and trigger "a series of unfortunate events". Despite being engaged in deep-rooted relations with many regional and global superpowers – most of which were and continue to be complicit in Tamil genocide, Gotabaya's personal and political history with the US cannot be ignored. Therefore, it becomes crucial for Eelam Tamils to lightly examine such pasts to further contextualise and predict current and future repercussions.

#### Gotabaya & the Pentagon

As ruled in the Permanent People's Tribunal on Sri Lanka, it is already well known that the US were complicit in the peak of the genocidal onslaught against Tamils in 2009. As a US citizen (supposedly former), Gotabaya has always maintained strong relations with many high-ranking Pentagon officials such as Professor James Clad who was the US Deputy Assistant Secretary Defence for Asia between 2007 – 2009. Such ties were evidently crucial in his strategies and military advancements during the final stages of Eelam War IV. Robert O. Blake, who was the US Ambassador in Colombo at the time, had also indicated that Gotabaya had a significant role in influencing the sharing of intelligence between US-SL. One of Gotabaya's first military agreements' [The Acquisition and Cross-Servicing Agreement (ACSA)] was also signed between Gotabaya and Robert O. Blake

in 2007 for a period of 10 years. In addition to intelligence relations, military-to-military contacts between the 2 countries remain strong.

The destruction of LTTE vessels in the seas off Indonesia and Australia were also carried out under the intelligence provided by the US. This information will prove to be critical when contextualising Gotabaya's vision to establish Sri Lanka as a blue power. We will examine this in detail later in the piece.

Blake continued to operate under the Obama Administration as the US Assistant Secretary of State for South and Central Asian Affairs and thus fostered a position which was desirable by Sri Lanka. In that trajectory, a return of the Democrats in the upcoming US elections would prove to be beneficial for Gotabaya. Until then, there is a tendency that he would not make any move that would be directly in line with America's interests so that there would be stronger grounds of mutual interest. This would also strengthen Sri Lanka's relations with a more favourable Pentagon.

#### **Easter Sunday Attacks**

On 07.05.2019, a lecture was held in Colombo on the topic of "US Foreign Policy towards China and South Asia and what it means for Sri Lanka". The lecture was presented by Robert O. Blake where he had advised Colombo on how to respond to terrorist attacks. Whilst he did address the crucial nature of inter-intelligence agency communication and coordination through drawing upon the Bush administration's responses to 9/11, Blake reiterated that Sri Lanka already had a similar efficient system as



Gotabaya and Robert O. Blake pictured in discussion.

it had been administered by Gotabaya during the genocidal onslaught which peaked in 2009 when he was SL's defence secretary.

"Gotabaya Rajapaksa personally chaired that group and made sure that all the different branches of Intelligence of which there are many in this country for sharing information to the senior level people, and then they themselves were making sure that somebody was looking into those and making sure that the attacks didn't take place", mentioned Blake.

Gotabaya's layers upon layers of strategic planning and cohesive management of various such players would have greatly assisted Sri Lanka in their final offensive.

#### Drop the curtain

Whilst Gotabaya's past indicates heavy strategy and coordination, both internally and externally his current disposition also raises questions as to the repercussions that would ensue once his veil is lifted. Blake's following words further reiterate Gotabaya's supposed "policy of neutrality" as one which could in fact be an aspect of "trigger politics".



"The Acquisition and Cross-Servicing Agreement" (ACSA) signed between Gotabaya and Blake in 2007. Source: TamilNet "As the US, China and other influential countries like India, Japan and Australia all jockey for influence in Asia, Sri Lanka is in an excellent position to benefit from and even play off these countries against each other. Your strategic location on the busiest shipping lanes; your democratic character and your economic openness make Sri Lanka an attractive partner," he said.

If Gotabaya's duplicity is indeed of this paradigm, it becomes evident that such trigger politics would become essential in establishing Sri

Lanka as a blue power where the vacuum which would be created through setting global powers against each other through the catalyst of Sri Lanka's geostrategic nature, would indeed foster Sri Lanka's rise to power. As defined in last month's piece, "a blue power is conventionally defined as any power which establishes authority through developing an economy through the use of ocean resources for economic growth." Due to Sri Lanka's geostrategic nature it becomes crucial to maintain authority over the Indo-Pacific Region. In this instance, triggering other foreign powers against each other as suggested by Robert O. Blake would have an effect where the powers would become distracted by their own personal enmities amongst each other to establish a footing in Sri Lanka, that they would oversee many aspects of reaching that goal - thus providing Sri Lanka with an upper hand to execute their bidding. This would also give Sri Lanka more leverage over regional shipping routes and thus facilitate their rise to becoming a blue power. Whilst many countries including Australia, China, India, UK and the US rush to engage in relations with Sri Lanka across various sectors, they must be aware that Gotabaya himself may be spinning a web thus establishing an upper hand whilst appearing to be "innocent".

However, an ensuing vacuum may also present an opportunity for Tamils and thus Gotabaya's tactical tango should be observed with caution to assist the creation of a counter-tactic to preserve and reinstate Tamil sovereignty.

## **Economic News**

10.08.2020: **US** – According to Colombo Page, USAID had provided 1.5 million USD to assist local community resilience and cooperation between local stakeholders and international agencies across the period of 2 years as a part of the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement – a local disaster management initiative.

13.08.2020: **Egypt –** The Ambassador of the Arab Republic of Egypt in Colombo announced that the departure of freighters from BIA would mark a step towards establishing a transport route with SL, reports Colombo Gazette.

14.08.2020: **COVID-19:** The government of Vietnam had donated medical supplies worth USD 30,000 to SL, reports Sunday Times LK. Colombo Gazette further reported Vietnam's emphasis upon the necessity to re-examine international cooperation – SL Ambassador reaffirmed the continuity of SL's cooperation with Vietnam.

14.08.2020: **Employment** – According to the PMD, the GoSL would recommence the presentation of employment opportunities to 50,000 graduates and 100,000 low-income earners, reports Colombo Gazette. It was reported that a list of those eligible would be published



Egypt commences freight services between SL and Egypt from BIA. Source: Colombo Gazette

on the President's official website on 16.08.2020 and that appointees would be requested to report for duty on 01.09.2020.

18.08.2020: **Iran –** According to Colombo Page, the Iranian Ambassador had emphasised the expansion of bilateral trade cooperation between SL and Iran whilst congratulating the Rajapaksa brothers on their victory.

19.08.2020: **India** – India has commenced discussions with 13 countries including SL to establish separate air bubble arrangements where the airlines of both countries could operate international flights within certain restrictions, reports Colombo Gazette. 24.08.2020: **China** – The Chinese Embassy in SL had tweeted their Government's continued commitment to support SL's economic revival following discussions between the Chargé d'affaires of the Chinese Embassy in SL and SL's State Minister of Money and Capital Market and State Enterprise Reforms, reports Colombo Gazette.

25.08.2020: **Petrol** – SL's Board of Investment had signed an agreement with Pearl Energy Private Limited to establish a floating storage LNG trading facility at Hambantota port, reports LNG industry.

26.08.2020: **Digital Transformation** - A 4year MoU was signed between the Information and Communication Technology Agency (ICTA) and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in SL to foster SL's aspirations to develop a National Digital Strategy to restructure the public sector. This is in-line with Gotabaya's highly militarised and technical strategy for governance. 28.08.2020: **Norway** - According to Sunday Times LK, Norway is expecting to sign a new agreement with Sri Lanka on the development of fisheries management tools by next month. It was reported that USD 2.3 million had been disbursed to the Sri Lankan fisheries sector. Sri Lanka has received USD 1 million from Norway's UN multi-donor trust fund on COVID-19 to assist countries in need to tackle the long-term socioeconomic consequences.



A 4-year MoU signed between SL and the UNDP. Source: Colombo Gazette

## Phoenix TNG Launched a Campaign of Enforced Disappearances

Phoenix- the Next Generation (Phoenix TNG) has launched a social media campaign. The details of 14 individuals who were forcibly disappeared during the final stage of the genocidal onslaught in 2009 were released on a daily basis. This campaign was welcomed by several Tamils and non-Tamils as the subject of enforced disappearances were not handled in a struggle-centric manner over the last decade. Further, the campaign was launched in a time-period, where Manori Umambuwe, the Sri Lankan ambassador for Germany and Switzerland, had stated that an Antiterror-Taskforce should be established to monitor the social media activities of the Tamil diaspora.

#### The campaign

On the 16th August 2020, Phoenix TNG launched this campaign. Images and videos of 14 individuals were released on a daily basis until the 30th of August to coincide with the International Day of the Disappeared. These pictures and videos were simultaneously released across the platforms of Instagram, Facebook, WhatsApp and Twitter. One of the intentions of this campaign was to give faces for the large number of enforced disappearances and to also remind Tamils, that this matter should be handled within the context of Tamil genocide.

#### Surveillance

The Sri Lankan Ambassador for Germany and Switzerland, Manori Umambuwe's statement from the 31<sup>st</sup> of July 2020 has pushed Phoenix TNG even further to conduct this campaign.

"I am looking at how to build an idea of inclusive nationalism and promote the Sri Lankan identity, rather than Tamil, Muslim identity... We must develop different story lines that will have traction in Germany such as emphasis on sovereignty and territorial integrity. We must highlight that terrorism is very much alive with the LTTE, ISIS and others. The fight today is in cyberspace for example there was an Instagram campaign recently which ran the tag line – I am a Tamil and the genocide is a part of my identity. These things must be monitored and closely countered. You have to have a Counter terrorism Task Force on Cyberspace to monitor these campaigns in Europe and use Sri Lankan (Sinhala) youth as a front to counter these things." – Manori Umambuwe.

It is noteworthy that Phoenix TNG has one of the least social media presence compared to other Tamil organisations. In a statement released by Phoenix TNG on the 31st August, they warned anyone, who intended to lay hands on the Tamil diaspora and further stated, that they have more tools in their arsenal than social media activism and that this time, the resistance will be stronger and more poignant.

#### Enforced disappearances in Tamil Eelam

Enforced disappearances have had a long history on the island of Sri Lanka. Whilst the Sinhalese were also forcibly disappeared, this cannot be compared with the case of Tamils as the enforced disappearances of Tamils occurred within the context of genocide.

In the Tamils' cases, enforced disappearances can be categorized into 2:

1. Prior to 2009 - people were surrounded in their villages and were taken away by the genocidal Sri Lankan armed forces under the guise of counterinsurgency.

2. Aftermath of 2009 - individuals were hand-picked by the genocidal state as they posed a threat to the state. They were considered to be a threat as they would be capable of mobilising the Tamil masses or function as a political influencer.

However, both categories are connected by Tamil genocide, which is institutionalised in the unitary state of Sri Lanka. This further provides them the legal space to commit such enforced disappearances.

## **News about Oppression & Resistance**

14.08.2020: **Remembrance** – The Sencholai bombings were commemorated across the Tamil homeland, 14 years on.

17.08.2020: Land appropriation – After assuming office as SL's State Minister of Internal Security, Home Affairs and Disaster Management, Chamal mentioned that actions would be taken to prevent extensive land grabbing and to address other crucial issues which were overlooked on a local level, reports Colombo Page.

18.08.2020: **Human bones** – Excavations of human bones initially discovered on 14.08.2020 at Pannai, Jaffna were carried out for a 2<sup>nd</sup> day, reports Colombo Page. The Acting Magistrate was reported to have inspected the site and ordered further investigation into the matter.

20.08.2020: **Employment** - According to SL's Home Affairs Ministry, the SL government would not include the Tamil

homeland under its employment scheme for 100,000 low income people implemented by the Multi-Purpose Development Task Force, reports Sunday Times.

25.08.2020: **Employment** - A group of graduates in the Jaffna district held a protest opposite the Jaffna District Secretariat demanding to be notified as to why their applications submitted to the Government's graduate employment programme had been rejected.

31.08.2020: **Disappearance-** According to Sunday Times LK, relatives of enforced disappeared persons across the occupied Tamil homeland had engaged in widespread protests demanding answers on the fate of their loved ones. The protests were held across:

- Jaffna
- Mullaitivu

- Vavuniya
- Kilinochchi
- Mannar
- Trincomalee
- Batticaloa
- Amparai

...where protesters submitted petitions to UN regional offices urging them to intervene for a closure. TamilNet further reported that such protests were held despite multiple attempts by SL's judiciary and police to impose restrictions against such protests and hence sent a clear message to the Gotabaya regime. Interim orders supposedly referred to occupational police claims that these protests would allow the "regrouping of the LTTE", reports TamilNet.

### Signs of Structural Genocide

01.08.2020: 19th amendment - According to Daily Mirror, Mahinda said that the 19th amendment was introduced by the Yahapalana government to violate the fundamental rights of the Rajapaksas. This amendment includes the removal of certain dictatorial powers afforded to the Executive. The 19th amendment will also instate the independence to the Commissions of the Elections commission, Public commission, Police Commission etc. The Rajapaksa government is working on an amendment which would allow them to maintain all of the control. He requested the people to elect a parliament with a clear majority for the SLPP so that a Cabinet which supports the President's programme can be appointed. Sajith Premadasa's SJB had also expressed support for certain aspects of the 19<sup>th</sup> amendment, reports Colombo Gazette.

03.08.2020: **Fisheries** – The occupational SL Navy is assisting purse-seine poachers to exploit the livelihood of Tamil fishery

communities in Vaakarai, reports TamilNet. The SLNS Kashyapa detachment were also reported to demand 20 LKR per kilo of the poachers' catch as an unofficial tax – these poachers are reported to have links to the TMVP. Fishing is also reported to occur within the prohibited zone where the poaching is reported to destroy the fishing ecosystem and thus has signs of structural genocide due to genocidal intent with which Tamils are being stripped of their livelihood in a systematic manner.

Land appropriation – According to TamilNet, the former NPC Councillor, Mr. T. Ravikaran had indicated a few days ago that SL's Forest and Wildlife Conservation departments had extended systematic land appropriation along the border between the North and Eastern provinces in Mullaitivu. Around 503 acres of agricultural lands belonging to 110 Tamil landowners in the following villages were reportedly appropriated:

#### AUGUST ISSUE 2020

- Akkaraiveli
- Periyaveli
- Kannaaddi
- Panichchamoaddai
- Maariyaamunai

25.08.2020: **Task Force -** According to Colombo Gazette, additional monks had been appointed to Gotabaya's genocidal Task Force on Archaeological Management in the East. They include:

- Vendaruwe Dharmakeerthi Sri Rathanapala Upali Thero
- Dr. Pahamune Sumangala Nayaka Thero
- Dr. Medagama Dhammananda Nayaka Thero
- Sri Sumangala Thero



Tamils across occupied Tamil Eelam protesting on the International Day of Enforced Disappearances despite intimidation. Source: Streets of Tamil Eelam

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